

REMARKS

BY

WILLIAM H. WEBSTER

DIRECTOR CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

BEFORE THE

ILLINOIS STATE BAR ASSOCIATION

AND THE

ILLINOIS JUDGES ASSOCIATION

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

NOVEMBER 13, 1987

THE EVENTS OF THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS HAVE RAISED ANEW CONCERNS IN THE UNITED STATES ABOUT SECRET OPERATIONS AND WHETHER SUCH ACTIVITY IS APPROPRIATE IN A DEMOCRACY SUCH AS OURS. WHAT WE HAVE LEARNED -- AND WHAT I WANT TO DISCUSS WITH YOU TODAY -- ARE THE CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH THE USE OF SECRET INTELLIGENCE CAN BE A VERY APPROPRIATE AND NECESSARY TOOL OF GOVERNMENT VITAL TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY.

NOT LONG AGO SOMEBODY GAVE ME A LAPEL BUTTON; I SHOULD HAVE BROUGHT IT ALONG. IT SAYS: MY JOB IS SO SECRET THAT EVEN I DON'T KNOW WHAT I AM DOING." THERE MAY BE SOME CORRELATION BETWEEN THAT STATEMENT AND HOW WE TEND TO FEEL ABOUT SECRECY. IT CONJURES UP IMAGES OF ORWELLIAN INTRUSION BY GOVERNMENT, OF CLANDESTINE ACTIVITIES THAT PUT AT RISK OUR MOST CHERISHED LIBERTIES, OF MISTAKES AND BLUNDERS CONCEALED WITHIN DOCUMENTS CLASSIFIED SECRET OR "EYES ONLY."

THESE IMAGES -- COUPLED WITH THE EXOTIC IDEAS ABOUT SECRET INTELLIGENCE GENERATED BY FICTION AND MOTION PICTURES AND RECENT BEST SELLERS -- TEND TO MASK WHAT INTELLIGENCE IS REALLY ALL ABOUT. INTELLIGENCE INVOLVES THE COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS OF INFORMATION ABOUT EVENTS AROUND THE WORLD THAT MAY THREATEN THE SECURITY OR INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS CITIZENS. IN A SENSE IT IS THE EFFORT TO DETERMINE WHAT IS TRUE AND THEN TO PUT TRUTH INTO ACTION.

TAKING A LEAF OR TWO FROM MY EXPERIENCES ON THE FEDERAL BENCH AND AS DIRECTOR OF THE FBI, AND OTHER EXPERIENCES, I HAVE TAKEN UP MY RESPONSIBILITIES WITH TWO DEEPLY HELD CARDINAL THESES: FIRST, THAT THE INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES VITAL TO THE PROTECTION AND PRESERVATION OF OUR NATIONAL SECURITY MUST BE CONDUCTED OBJECTIVELY, PROFESSIONALLY, AND WITH ABSOLUTE FIDELITY TO OUR CONSTITUTION AND TO OUR LAWS. AND, SECOND, THAT THERE MUST BE A TRUSTWORTHY SYSTEM OF OVERSIGHT AND ACCOUNTABILITY WHICH BUILDS, RATHER THAN ERODES, TRUST

BETWEEN THOSE WHO HAVE THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR MANAGING OUR INTELLIGENCE SYSTEM
AND THOSE WHO ACT AS SURROGATES FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

OUR GOVERNMENT DEPENDS HEAVILY UPON ACCURATE INTELLIGENCE: INTELLIGENCE TO
FORMULATE AND CONDUCT OUR FOREIGN POLICY, INTELLIGENCE TO VERIFY THE ARMS
AGREEMENTS THAT WE HAVE SIGNED AND TO JUDGE WHETHER WE CAN COME TO TERMS WITH
OTHER ARMS AGREEMENTS THAT WE ARE CONSIDERING AND THAT ARE NOW ON THE TABLE.
AND INTELLIGENCE TO UNDERSTAND BOTH THE MILITARY CAPABILITIES AND THE
INTENTIONS OF OUR ADVERSARIES. OUR PRIMARY CONSUMERS OF COURSE ARE THE
PRESIDENT, THE VICE PRESIDENT, THE SECRETARIES OF DEFENSE, THE TREASURY, AND
STATE, THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL, AND OF COURSE, THE INTELLIGENCE
OVERSIGHT COMMITTEES OF THE HOUSE AND THE SENATE.

INTELLIGENCE -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, MILITARY INTELLIGENCE -- MUST BE
GATHERED EARLY AND ACCURATELY. JUST LAST JULY I SPENT A DAY IN COLORADO
SPRINGS, IN

CHEYENNE MOUNTAIN AT NORAD'S HEADQUARTERS, ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL EARLY WARNING SYSTEMS FOR OUR COUNTRY'S NATIONAL DEFENSE. JUST TWO WEEKS AGO I SPENT A DAY AT OUR STRATEGIC, AIR COMMAND AT OMAHA, THE SAC HEADQUARTERS. A DAY IN EITHER PLACE CANNOT HELP BUT MAKE ONE AWARE OF THE CRITICAL IMPORTANCE OF GATHERING EARLY AND ACCURATE INTELLIGENCE FOR OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE. OUR FOREFATHERS MAY HAVE HAD WEEKS OR MONTHS TO CONSIDER HOW THEY WOULD RESPOND TO THREATS TO THIS COUNTRY -- NOW WE MUST THINK IN TERMS OF MINUTES. AND WE CANNOT AFFORD TO MAKE MISTAKES. ALL OF THE INFORMATION THAT WE CAN ACQUIRE IN ADVANCE HELPS US TO ASSESS WHAT IS HAPPENING AND WHY IT HAS HAPPENED.

IN THE EARLY DAYS, CLANDESTINE INTELLIGENCE FROM HUMAN SOURCES MADE UP THE GREAT BULK OF SECRET MATERIAL THAT, ADDED TO THE NORMAL KINDS OF OPEN INFORMATION GATHERED BY ATTACHES AND DIPLOMATS OR FROM OTHER SOURCES, ENABLED INTELLIGENCE AND ANALYSTS TO PIECE TOGETHER A MOSAIC OF INFORMATION ABOUT

THREATS TO OUR SECURITY. TODAY, THE FORMS OF INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION VARY FROM THE TRADITIONAL HUMAN SOURCES TO SIGNALS AND COMMUNICATIONS INTELLIGENCE, AS WELL AS IMAGERY INTELLIGENCE INVOLVING SATELLITES WITH ALMOST NEAR REALTIME CAPABILITY.

IT WOULD BE NICE TO THINK THAT TECHNICAL SYSTEMS COULD EVENTUALLY OBTAIN THE NEED FOR ESPIONAGE AGAINST OUR COMPETITORS AND OUR ADVERSARIES, BUT I THINK EXPERIENCE SHOWS THAT IT IS THE COMBINATION OF TECHNICALLY GATHERED MATERIALS, ALONG WITH INFORMATION FROM HUMAN SOURCES THAT MAKES IT POSSIBLE FOR US TO MAKE JUDGMENTS ABOUT EVENTS IN THE WORLD. ONLY HUMAN SOURCES CAN PROVIDE INSIGHTS INTO THE INTENTIONS AND THE ATTITUDES OF OUR ADVERSARIES. AND ONLY HUMAN SOURCES CAN TELL US WHY EVENTS HAVE DEVELOPED ACCORDING TO A PARTICULAR PATTERN, EVEN THOUGH THE PATTERN ITSELF MAY BE QUITE VISIBLE TO TECHNICAL SENSORS.

BOTH CONGRESS AND THE JUDICIARY HAVE RECOGNIZED THE NEED FOR SECRECY IN MATTERS OF NATIONAL SECURITY. THEY UNDERSTAND THAT THE MAIN PURPOSE OF SECRECY IN INTELLIGENCE IS TO PRESERVE AND PROTECT.

TWO WORDS THAT WERE NEW TO ME COMING OFF THE BENCH BUT ARE VITALLY IMPORTANT TODAY -- SOURCES AND METHODS. IF WE CANNOT PROTECT OUR SOURCES -- WHETHER THEY ARE FBI INFORMANTS IN THIS COUNTRY OR FOREIGN ASSETS DEVELOPED AROUND THE WORLD -- WE WILL NOT GET THE INFORMATION THAT WE NEED. IT'S THAT SIMPLE. IF WE CANNOT PROTECT THE SENSITIVE METHODS BY WHICH WE COLLECT THE INFORMATION, BOTH IN TERMS OF INDIVIDUALS ON THE GROUND AND SATELLITES IN SPACE, WE WILL CEASE TO HAVE THE MEANS OF COLLECTING INFORMATION.

CONGRESS HAS RECOGNIZED THE LEGITIMACY OF THIS CONCERN IN THE FORM OF SPECIFIC LEGISLATIVE PROVISIONS -- INCLUDING THE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT -- IN WHICH THERE ARE EXPRESS PROVISIONS PROTECTING FROM DISCLOSURE THOSE MATTERS OF FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE AND INFORMATION SUPPLIED TO US BY FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES OUTSIDE THIS COUNTRY. THE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE ACT, FOR EXAMPLE, PROVIDES FOR A SPECIAL COURT TO REVIEW IN SECRET ALL THE APPLICATIONS FILED SO AS TO CONDUCT ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE FOR FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE

PURPOSES. I'M SURE YOU ARE AWARE THAT THE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE GATHERED IS SUBJECT TO THE SAME STATUTORY REQUIREMENTS OF A PRIOR COURT ORDER BY FEDERAL JUDGES, BUT THEY ARE SPECIALLY DESIGNATED, THEY MEET IN A SECRET ROOM, AND THEIR FILES ARE KEPT IN A SECRET PLACE. THIS STATUTE HAS BEEN FOUND TO BE WITHIN THE CONFINES OF THE CONSTITUTION.

COLLECTING INFORMATION IS A CRITICAL PART OF INTELLIGENCE, BUT IT IS ONLY THE FIRST STEP IN THE INTELLIGENCE PROCESS. THE ENORMOUS COST OF HIGHLY SOPHISTICATED COLLECTION SYSTEMS -- AND OUR WORLDWIDE NETWORK OF HUMAN SOURCES -- WOULD BE OF VERY LITTLE VALUE IF WE COULD NOT DELIVER MEANINGFUL JUDGEMENTS ABOUT THE INFORMATION ONCE IT IS COLLECTED. INTELLIGENCE ANALYSIS IS JUST AS IMPORTANT AS INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION. THROUGH THIS PROCESS, WE HELP THE POLICYMAKERS ARRIVE AT SOUND AND WISE JUDGMENTS ABOUT THE POLICY OF THIS COUNTRY.

SOME OBSERVERS OF OUR SYSTEM HAVE COMPLAINED IN THE RECENT PAST THAT OUR INTELLIGENCE ANALYSIS HAS BEEN POLITICIZED; THAT IT HAD BEEN ALTERED OR SKEWED TO MAKE POLICYMAKERS MORE COMFORTABLE, OR THAT IT HAD BEEN "COOKED" TO TELL THE POLICYMAKERS ONLY WHAT WE WANTED THEM TO HEAR. UNLESS INTELLIGENCE IS COLLECTED AND ANALYZED IN AN OBJECTIVE MANNER, WE WILL FAIL IN OUR DUTY TO THOSE ELECTED TO LEAD OUR COUNTRY.

I HAVE TAKEN A NUMBER OF STEPS TO ENSURE THAT THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY PRESERVES ITS OBJECTIVITY AND PROTECTS ITS INTEGRITY. WE INTEND TO "TELL IT AS IT IS," AVOIDING BIAS AS MUCH AS WE CAN. POLICYMAKERS MAY NOT LIKE THE MESSAGE THAT THEY HEAR FROM US, ESPECIALLY IF THEY HAVE A DIFFERENT POINT OF VIEW. MY POSITION IS THAT IN THE PREPARATION OF INTELLIGENCE JUDGMENTS, PARTICULARLY IN NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATES, WE WILL PROVIDE THEM FOR THE USE OF THE POLICYMAKERS. THEY CAN BE USED IN WHOLE OR IN PART. THEY CAN BE

IGNORED, OR TORN UP, OR THROWN AWAY, BUT THEY MAY NOT BE CHANGED. I CANNOT UNDERSCORE HOW IMPORTANT THAT IS, TO PRESERVE IT, OUR ROLE AS A NON-POLICY AGENCY PROVIDING OBJECTIVE, PROFESSIONAL INFORMATION TO THOSE WHO MAKE POLICY. WITHIN THE CIA, WE ARE CAREFUL TO REVIEW OUR PRODUCTS AT ALL LEVELS, TO INVOLVE A VARIETY OF ANALYSTS AND MANAGERS WITH DIFFERENT SKILLS, KNOWLEDGE, DISCIPLINES, AND BACKGROUND AS WE PREPARE OUR MATERIAL.

VERY OFTEN, WE COORDINATE OUR RESULTS WITH ANALYSTS OR SENIOR OFFICIALS WITHIN OTHER AGENCIES OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY. IF THERE IS ANY FORM OF DISAGREEMENT, THE DISAGREEMENT IS CLEARLY REFLECTED IN THE FINISHED PRODUCT. WE DO NOT TRY TO REACH THE LOWEST COMMON DENOMINATOR OF AGREEMENT. YOU MUST REMEMBER THAT WE SOMETIMES USE DIFFERENT METHODOLOGIES TO RESEARCH THE SAME DATA, SO DISAGREEMENT MAY BE A HEALTHY SIGN THAT WE HAVE NOT OVERLOOKED SOME CRITICAL PIECE OF INFORMATION OR SOME VITAL CONCLUSION. IN MY OWN VIEW AS DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE, THIS COULD BE THE MOST IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION

THAT IN THE TIME ALLOWED TO ME I COULD MAKE IN GALVANIZING A COHESIVE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY WITHOUT COMPROMISING THE INTEGRITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL ANALYSTS OR PROGRAM MANAGERS.

COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS MAKE UP THE GREAT PERCENTAGE OF OUR WORK, BUT THERE ARE OTHER RESPONSIBILITIES AS WELL. THE CIA IS REGULARLY INVOLVED IN COUNTERINTELLIGENCE IN THE FOREIGN ENVIRONMENT, AND WE COOPERATE CLOSELY WITH THE FBI, AND OTHER AGENCIES OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, IN WORKING AGAINST NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING, THREATS OF TERRORISM, AS WELL AS EFFORTS TO STEAL U.S. ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY.

WE HAVE ANOTHER ROLE TO PLAY -- PERHAPS THE MOST CONTROVERSIAL -- IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF FOREIGN POLICY AND THIS IS DONE THROUGH COVERT ACTIVITIES. I WANT TO UNDERSCORE THE WORDS IMPLEMENTATION OF FOREIGN POLICY, NOT CIA POLICY, THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE U.S. NOW IN DOING THIS, THESE

ACTIVITIES MAY INCLUDE POLITICAL WORK THROUGH COMMUNICATIONS -- GETTING OUR MESSAGE OUT. THEY INCLUDE TRAINING; SUPPLYING IMPORTANT MATERIALS FOR THOSE WHOM WE SUPPORT ABROAD; AND SIMPLY GIVING ADVICE. COVERT ACTION IS NOT DEFINED BY LAW, BUT THE TERM HAS COME TO BE UNDERSTOOD AS REFERRING TO ACTIVITIES CONDUCTED IN SUPPORT OF NATIONAL FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES IN SUCH A WAY THAT THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS NOT APPARENT.

IN MY LIFETIME FROM PRESIDENT FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT FORWARD, EVERY PRESIDENT HAS ENDORSED AND USED COVERT ACTION TO SUPPORT THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THIS COUNTRY. ALTHOUGH COVERT ACTIONS TRADITIONALLY CLAIM ONLY A VERY SMALL PORTION OF THE CIA'S BUDGET -- LESS THAN THREE PERCENT -- THEY ARE THE FOCUS OF THE GREATEST CONGRESSIONAL AND PUBLIC ATTENTION. WE HAVE SEEN SOME OF THE RESPONSIBILITIES FOR COVERT ACTION MOVE OUTSIDE THE CIA INTO THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL AND, HAVING LEARNED FROM THIS VERY BAD EXPERIENCE, THE PRESIDENT HAS NOW DIRECTED THAT THIS WILL NOT HAPPEN AGAIN. NEVERTHELESS, THE

EVENTS OF THE PAST YEAR HAVE ONLY ADDED TO THE CONFUSION, SUSPICION, AND THE ILL EASE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ABOUT COVERT ACTION.

THESE EVENTS HAVE LED US TO IMPROVE THE RULES AND PROCEDURES THAT GOVERN SUCH ACTIVITY SO THAT, IF FOLLOWED BY MEN OF INTEGRITY AND DEDICATION, THE CONSTITUTIONAL REQUIREMENTS AND OUR NATIONAL SECURITY NEEDS WILL BE MET AND SUSTAINED. COVERT ACTION CAPABILITY IS ESSENTIAL, IT IS VITALLY ESSENTIAL IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY IF WE ARE TO PROVIDE NEEDED SUPPORT FOR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OR ASSISTANCE TO GOVERNMENTS WORKING IN COLLABORATION WITH OTHER COUNTRIES WHO DO NOT WISH FOR LEGITIMATE POLITICAL REASONS OF THEIR OWN TO HAVE THE U.S. ROLE AND INVOLVEMENT PUBLICLY KNOWN. AND THIS HAPPENS IN MANY CASES WHERE THE STABILITY OF THE COUNTRY REQUIRES THAT THE POLITICAL LEADERS WHO NEED OUR HELP, WANT OUR HELP, TAKE OUR HELP, DO NOT WANT THAT HELP TO BE KNOWN WITHIN A COUNTRY.

WHILE SECRECY IS NECESSARY IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, THERE ARE NEVERTHELESS OFFICIAL SURROGATES WATCHING AFTER YOUR INTERESTS AND MINE IN THE

FORM OF CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT. INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION AND THE USE OF INTELLIGENCE HAS BECOME A SHARED RESPONSIBILITY JUST AS CONGRESS HAS A ROLE IN THE FORMULATION OF FOREIGN POLICY AND A SPECIFIC ROLE IN THE FUNDING OF OUR ACTIVITY. WE CALL THIS DIVISION OF RESPONSIBILITY BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES THE SEPARATION OF POWERS, BUT IT ALSO MEANS A SHARING OF POWER THAT OPERATES AND PROTECTS OUR SYSTEM.

IN 1976 AND 1977, BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS ESTABLISHED INTELLIGENCE OVERSIGHT COMMITTEES TO MONITOR ALL SIGNIFICANT INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES AND EXPENDITURES. THE OVERSIGHT COMMITTEES OPERATING UNDER THE RULES EMBODIED IN THE NATIONAL SECURITY ACT, THE HUGHES-RYAN AMENDMENT, AND THE INTELLIGENCE OVERSIGHT ACT, HAVE FORMALIZED THE REPORTING OF INTELLIGENCE AND COVERT ACTIONS TO THE CONGRESS. THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY IS NOW REQUIRED BY LAW TO KEEP THE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEES FULLY AND CURRENTLY INFORMED OF ALL

INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES. UNDER THE HUGHES-RYAN AMENDMENT, THE PRESIDENT MUST FIND THAT EACH COVERT ACTION IS IMPORTANT TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY BEFORE THE OPERATION CAN BE INITIATED. THIS IS AN IMPORTANT REQUIREMENT. IT MEANS THAT WE CANNOT SHIELD THE PRESIDENT FROM KNOWING ABOUT WHAT WE ARE DOING. HE MUST ULTIMATELY MAKE THAT FINDING AND MUST THEN REPORT THAT FINDING TO THE CONGRESS.

UNDER LAW IT IS OUR DUTY TO NOTIFY THE COMMITTEES OF ANY SIGNIFICANT INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES, WHICH NOW BY DEFINITION INCLUDES ANY ACTIVITIES REQUIRING A FINDING UNDER THE HUGHES-RYAN AMENDMENT. UNDER THE STATUTE, TO MEET EXTRAORDINARY CIRCUMSTANCES AFFECTING THE VITAL INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES, THE PRESIDENT CAN LIMIT THAT NOTIFICATION TO THE CHAIRMAN AND MINORITY MEMBERS OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEES, AND RANKING MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE, TO THE SPEAKER AND THE MINORITY LEADER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AND TO THE MAJORITY LEADER AND MINORITY LEADER OF THE SENATE -- WHOM WE COLLECTIVELY

REFER TO AS THE "GANG OF EIGHT."

THERE IS ANOTHER STATUTORY REQUIREMENT THAT THE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEES BE FULLY INFORMED "IN A TIMELY FASHION" OF INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES -- OTHER THAN THOSE SOLELY FOR THE PURPOSE OF COLLECTING INTELLIGENCE -- FOR WHICH PRIOR NOTICE WAS NOT GIVEN, AND THE PRESIDENT HERE MUST STATE THE REASONS FOR NOT GIVING PRIOR NOTICE IN THOSE INSTANCES. A NEWLY DRAFTED NATIONAL SECURITY DECISION DIRECTIVE BY THE PRESIDENT SIGNALS HIS INTENTIONS TO GO THE EXTRA MILE IN KEEPING THE CONGRESS INFORMED IN A TIMELY WAY. MORE CAN STILL BE DONE. WE MUST STRENGTHEN THE WAY WE DEAL WITH THE ISSUES INSIDE THE INTELLIGENCE SYSTEM. INTERNALLY, JUST AS WE DID SUCCESSFULLY IN THE FBI FOR UNDERCOVER OPERATIONS, WE ARE WATCHING CLOSELY AND ARE CURRENTLY IMPROVING THE MANAGEMENT CAPABILITY TO DEAL WITH COVERT ACTIVITY.

IT IS NOT ENOUGH JUST FOR THE PRESIDENT TO MAKE A FINDING AUTHORIZING AND DIRECTING US TO CARRY OUT SOME COVERT ACTIVITY. WE HAVE TO KNOW BEFORE THE

PRESIDENT MAKES THAT FINDING THAT THE ACTION IS DOABLE, AND DOABLE IN A LAWFUL WAY. AND WE HAVE TO BE SURE THAT THE INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE OUT ON THE FIRING LINE, OUTSIDE THE PROTECTION OF OUR CONSTITUTION AND OUR LAWS, IN MANY INSTANCES, CAN DO THEIR WORK IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FLEXIBILITY THAT THEY NEED, WITH THE CLEAREST POSSIBLE TRAINING AND UNDERSTANDING OF THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES TO THE CIA AND TO THE COUNTRY.

OUR OWN INTERNAL COVERT ACTION REVIEW GROUP WITHIN THE CIA NOW LOOKS CAREFULLY AT ALL ASPECTS OF COVERT FINDINGS AND ASKS ITSELF THESE KINDS OF QUESTIONS: WILL IT WORK? IS IT CONSISTENT WITH THE OVERT FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES? RECALL THAT THAT WAS A PROBLEM IN THE IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR -- AN OFFICIAL POLICY AGAINST SUPPORTING OR GIVING AID TO STATES SPONSORING TERRORISM, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME SUPPLYING THOSE ARMS TO A COUNTRY THAT SUPPORTS TERRORISM. WHAT ARE THE CONSEQUENCES GOING TO BE IF THE ACTIVITY IS PUBLICLY EXPOSED? WILL IT BE ACCEPTABLE AND MAKE SENSE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE? IS IT CONSISTENT WITH AMERICAN VALUES?

THESE SAME CONSIDERATIONS MUST THEN BE BROUGHT BEFORE THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WITH THE PRESIDENT OFTEN SITTING DURING THE DEBATE AND VETTED BEFORE HE TAKES FINAL ACTION. NOT ALL COVERT ACTIVITIES WILL SUCCEED, BUT I BELIEVE FIRMLY THAT IF SUBJECTED TO THESE KINDS OF TESTS, AND THIS KIND OF MANAGEMENT, WE HAVE THE BEST CHANCE OF GETTING THE MOST EFFECTIVE AND PRODUCTIVE USE FROM OUR COVERT ACTION CAPABILITY. I THINK I SHOULD ADD BEFORE THIS GATHERING THAT IN ALL OF THESE GROUPS OUR GENERAL COUNSEL'S OFFICE IS FULLY REPRESENTED IN THE FINDINGS THEMSELVES AND THE SPECIFIC ACTIONS TO BE TAKEN TO BE SURE THAT EVERYTHING IS CONSISTENT WITH OUR LAWS AND OUR CONSTITUTION.

IN OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE CONGRESS, I BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT FOR US TO RECOGNIZE THAT IT MUST BE ONE OF TRUTH AND NOT OF DECEPTION. THERE IS SO MUCH CONFUSION THESE DAYS ABOUT DENIABILITY AND DECEPTION THAT I THINK THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO MAKE ONE LEGITIMATE DISTINCTION. IN COVERT ACTION THERE IS OFTEN

DECEPTION TO CONCEAL THE SOURCE OF THE ACTIVITY IN ORDER TO INFLUENCE EVENTS THROUGH MEANS THAT WE BELIEVE TO BE APPROPRIATE BUT WHICH MUST NECESSARILY BE COVERT. BUT IN DEALING WITH THE CONGRESS ABOUT THESE ACTIONS THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO EXCUSE FOR DECEPTION.

BUT THAT DOES NOT MEAN THAT THERE IS NO NEED FOR SECRECY. THERE MAY BE TIMES, CONSIDERING THE NATURE OF INFORMATION AND THE RISKS RESULTING FROM POSSIBLE EXPOSURE OF THAT INFORMATION, THAT I WILL NOT BE ABLE TO DISCLOSE THE FACTS TO THE CONGRESS. MY STRATEGY THERE IS TO TELL THE CONGRESS MY PROBLEM, AND THEY MAY AGREE WITH ME AND RECEDE FROM THOSE DEMANDS OR THEY MAY BRING ADDITIONAL HEAT ON ME, OR GO OVER MY HEAD, BUT AT LEAST WE WILL BE HONEST WITH EACH OTHER. THIS IS A LOT DIFFERENT THAN TRYING TO ANSWER QUESTIONS FROM THE CONGRESS NARROWLY OR CUTELY, WHEN I KNOW WHAT THE CONGRESS WANTS TO HEAR FROM ME, OR PRETENDING THAT THEY HAVE FAILED TO ASK THE QUESTION PRECISELY ENOUGH. I THINK WE HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO SPEAK TO EACH OTHER AS INDIVIDUALS DOING BUSINESS -- KNOWING WHAT EACH OTHER WANTS TO KNOW AND BEING HONEST ABOUT WHAT WE ARE GOING TO TELL THEM OR NOT TELL THEM.

RECENTLY, I WAS AT ONE OF OUR OFF-SITE LOCATIONS MEETING WITH THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY, AND THEN I SPENT SOME TIME WITH ABOUT 40 OF OUR YOUNG CAREER TRAINEES -- SOME OF THE BRIGHTEST AND ABLEST YOUNG PEOPLE I HAVE SEEN IN A LONG, LONG TIME. THEY ARE TRAINING THEMSELVES TO TAKE ON SOME OF THE MOST DIFFICULT AND DEMANDING TASKS THAT YOU CAN IMAGINE, CHALLENGING AND FASCINATING PROFESSIONS. ESPECIALLY FOR THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT THEIR WORK IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN FAME OR FORTUNE AND SEE IN IT A CHANCE TO PURSUE THEIR HIGHEST ASPIRATIONS FOR A SAFER AND A BETTER WORLD. AND I AM PROUD OF THEM AND PROUD OF WHAT I KNOW THAT THEY ARE GOING TO BE ABLE TO DO WITH PROPER MANAGEMENT.

INDEED THE KEY TO SUCCESS IN A FREE SOCIETY IS IN THE INTEGRITY OF ITS PEOPLE. I THINK THIS IS BEST EXPRESSED BY SIR WILLIAM STEPHENSON, AN OLD FRIEND OF MINE, IN THE INTRODUCTION OF A BOOK THAT WAS WRITTEN ABOUT HIM SOME YEARS AGO, CALLED A MAN CALLED INTREPID. SIR WILLIAM IS NOW IN HIS NINETIES. BUT HE IS STILL PRETTY SHARP, STILL SENDING OUT HIS ADVICE AND ENCOURAGEMENT. THIS IS WHAT HE WROTE: "PERHAPS A DAY WILL DAWN WHEN TYRANTS CAN NO LONGER

THREATEN THE LIBERTY OF ANY PEOPLE. WHEN THE FUNCTION OF ALL NATIONS, HOWEVER VARIED THEIR IDEOLOGIES, WILL BE TO ENHANCE LIFE NOT TO CONTROL IT. IF SUCH A CONDITION IS POSSIBLE, IT IS IN A FUTURE TOO FAR DISTANT TO FORESEE. UNTIL THAT SAFER, BETTER DAY, THE DEMOCRACIES WILL AVOID DISASTER AND POSSIBLE TOTAL DESTRUCTION, ONLY BY MAINTAINING THEIR DEFENSES. AMONG THE INCREASINGLY INTRICATE ARSENALS ACROSS THE WORLD, INTELLIGENCE IS AN ESSENTIAL WEAPON. PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT. BUT IT IS, BEING SECRET, THE MOST DANGEROUS. SAFEGUARDS TO PREVENT ITS ABUSE MUST BE DEVISED, REVISED, AND RIGIDLY APPLIED. BUT AS IN ALL ENTERPRISE THE CHARACTER AND WISDOM OF THOSE TO WHOM IT IS ENTRUSTED WILL BE DECISIVE. IN THE INTEGRITY OF THAT GUARDIANSHIP LIES THE HOPE OF FREE PEOPLE TO ENDURE AND PREVAIL."

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I BELIEVE THAT IN THE SHARED RESPONSIBILITY OF INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS AS WELL AS IN THE USE OF SPECIAL

ACTIVITIES IN SUPPORT OF FOREIGN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION, INTEGRITY IS VITALLY IMPORTANT BOTH ON THE EXECUTIVE AND ON THE CONGRESSIONAL SIDE. WE IN THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY MUST WORK CLOSELY WITH THOSE WHO MUST MAKE THE POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS THAT DEFINE OUR PRESENT AND SHAPE OUR FUTURE, PROVIDING OUR ASSESSMENTS OBJECTIVELY, PROFESSIONALLY, HELPING TO PUT TRUTH INTO ACTION. WE MUST WORK WITH THE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES WHICH ACT IN SECRET MATTERS AS SURROGATES FOR THE CONGRESS AND FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, AND WE MUST BE WORTHY OF THEIR TRUST. WE MUST DILIGENTLY CARRY OUT OUR ASSIGNMENTS AROUND THE WORLD, HOWEVER DIFFICULT, WITH FIDELITY TO THE CONSTITUTION AND THE LAWS OF OUR BELOVED COUNTRY. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT A NATION DEDICATED TO THE RULE OF LAW CAN PROTECT ITSELF AND PRESERVE ITS HERITAGE IN NO OTHER WAY.